

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-94-186 Monday 26 September 1994

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CONTENTS

26 September 1994

NOTICE TO READERS: Effective 1 October, the processing indicators appearing in brackets at the start of each item in this publication will be changed. All new indicators will begin with "FBIS" to make the material more easily identifiable. Some will also indicate whether the item has been translate from the vernacular or transcribed from English.

An * indicates material not disseminated in eletronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

-					
R		п	n	а	

,	Durunui	
	Hutu Rebel Leader Threatens To 'Launch Attacks' [Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE 22 Sep]	1
	Chad	
	Ex-Mines Minister Explains His Disappearance [Libreville Radio]	1
	Rwanda	
	First Five U.S. Investigators Arrive [Kigali Radio] Japan's Peacekeepers May Use Weapons To Protect Others [Tokyo KYODO] Government Considers Amnesty for Militiamen [AFP] Anounces Offensive Against Militiamen [Paris International] Court Set Up To Try Soldiers 'Caught in the Act' [Kigali Radio] Government Forces Killing Returnees Denied [Kigali Radio]	1 2 3 3
	Government Forces Killing Returnees Denied [Kigali Radio]	3
REPU	UBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA	
sou	Buthelezi, Prince Zulu Argue in SABC Studio [Johannesburg TV] Buthelezi Explains Argument [Johannesburg TV] Buthelezi: No Place Anymore for Independent Zulu Kingdom [Johannesburg TV] Further on Buthelezi Address [Johannesburg TV] ANC Supports Zulu King's Call for Shaka Day Prayer [SAPA] Army Confirms Responsibility for Zulu King's Safety [SAPA] Political Analyst Views ANC Government [PATRIOT 16 Sep] COSATU, ANC Oppose Policy on Illegal Immigration [WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN 29 Sep] Reserve Bank Raises Bank Rate From 12 to 13 Percent [Johannesburg TV] South African Press Review for 23 Sep [THE STAR 23 Sep, etc.] South African Press Review for 24-25 Sep [WEEKEND STAR 24-25 Sep, etc.]	10
	33-Million-Maluti Agreement Signed With EU [Maseru Radio]	12
	Mozambique	
	LIN Police Invade Presidential Guard Headquarters [Manuto Radio]	12

WEST AFRICA

	•			٠	
- 1	н	0	-	т	
-		ю	ш		и

	Army To Participate in UN Multinational Force in Haiti	[Cotonou Radio]	13
Nig	eria		
	Civil Rights Leader Ransome-Kuti Released on Bail /Lon	ndon International]	13
	Further on Release [AFP]		13
	Government Withdraws Dissident Soyinka's Passport /A.		

Burundi

Hutu Rebel Leader Threatens To 'Launch Attacks'

BR2209130594 Brussels LA LIBRE BELGIQUE in French 22 Sep 94 p 1

[Report by Marie-France Cros: "Burundi: The Rebels' Demands—Exclusive Interview With a Commander Claiming To Speak in the Name of the 'People's Army'"]

[Text] On Wednesday [21 September], LA LIBRE BEL-GIQUE received a phone call from a commander claiming to speak for the People's Army, the name adopted by the rebels of Kamenge, a Hutu neighborhood of the Burundian capital. The rebels, called the "members of the Resistance" by the inhabitants of Bujumbura, provoked a long crisis last spring. It ended with numerous deaths, mainly of civilians, when the (mainly Tutsi) Army disarmed the neighborhood, not without "unfortunate mistakes."

According to the commander, the Kamenge rebels, who caused new disturbances last week, could "threaten the security of the country for years" and launch attacks "tomorrow or in the near future" if their demands are not met.

National Army

There are three demands: The introduction of members of its own forces in the Burundian Army "up to the level of 30 percent of its manpower." The presence of a significant number of Hutus in the Burundian Army, where the latter represent the smallest share, has been the main demand of Burundian Hutus for several years. It was among the plans of President Ndadaye, killed during the military coup of October 1993. The demand has been considerably strengthened after the events in neighboring Rwanda, where after three years of civil war the government and the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a guerilla movement dominated by Tutsi exiles which is today in power, signed an agreement to create a new Army made up of 40 percent RPF soldiers and 60 percent troops from the former governmental Army, essentially Hutus.

The commander said that other demands of the People's Army were "development projects for Kamenge" and "acceptance by the government of the return of Nyangoma." This former interior minister left the country when security forces accused him of arming Hutu extremists.

Chad

Ex-Mines Minister Explains His Disappearance

AB2409161994 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1215 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] On to Chad, in the aftermath of the escape early this week of Mahamat Garfa, the former Armed Forces chief of staff and minister of nines, energy and petroleum, who certain sources accused of running away from Ndjamena with 1 billion CFA francs in the company of other soldiers: An official of the National Committee for Recovery, a political and military movement, has said that Mahamat Garfa has joined their movement in eastern Chad. Mahamat Garfa, who contacted us this morning from a place that is being kept secret, explains to our correspondent Mamadi Yussufu the reasons for his escape.

[Begin Garfa recording] Following the differences I had with the head of state on the issue of Army reorganization and the massacre of peaceful citizens, I was removed as head of the Army. Since then, I have been under constant physical threat; threat of arrest and threat of assassination. I mean, when I go out at night, I am followed by unregistered vehicles with armed men on board to assassinate me. This is why I was compelled to leave the country.

I have nothing to reproach myself with and no one has lodged a complaint against me. The problem is not one of embezzlement but rather of the existing differences concerning the reorganization of the Army or setting the head of state's mind at rest over the establishment of a clannish Army, something which is contrary to the wishes of the national conference which asked for the creation of a true national army. [end recording]

Rwanda

First Five U.S. Investigators Arrive

EA2209172094 Kigali Radio Rwanda in French 1115 GMT 22 Sep 94

[Excerpt] The first five legal specialists in charge of identifying those who were mainly responsible for the genocide in our country arrived yesterday in Rwanda. With the five investigators from the United States, the number of experts has now reached 25. The total number of experts requested from the UN to carry out the mission was 150. [passage omitted]

Japan's Peacekeepers May Use Weapons To Protect Others

OW2409140094 Tokyo KYODO in English 1343 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Goma, Zaire, Sept 24 KYODO—Japanese Defense Agency chief Tokuichiro Tamazawa hinted Saturday [24 September] that the nation's Self-Defense Forces (SDF) personnel stationed in Rwandan refugee camps in the eastern Zairian town of Goma may use weapons to protect aid workers and other non-SDF members. "The SDF members may possibly protect aid workers as well as themselves when there is pressing danger around them," Tamazawa told reporters upon arrival at Goma Airport. When asked if it is possible for SDF personnel to fire guns, he said they will do so "in case of self-defense."

At the airport, Tamazawa was welcomed by senior Zairian military officials, including Defense Minister Mavua Mudima, and reviewed some 200 Zairian soldiers. Tamazawa and Mudima also held talks inside the airport. Under the guidance of officials of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Tamazawa will inspect refugee camps later, which accommodate Rwandan refugees who fled fighting between clans in their home country.

Tamazawa will also hold talks with Zairian President Mobutu before returning to the Kenyan capital of Nairobi within the day. Meanwhile, an advance team from the Ground Self-Defense Force (GSDF), which arrived in Goma on Friday, completed setting up its own camp inside the French contingent's camp, beside Goma Airport. The peacekeepers led by Col. Makoto Nasu will begin preparations to receive the main GSDF troops to be stationed there from 2 October. They will start inspections in Goma and refugee camps starting Sunday, a GSDF spokesman said.

Japan is sending a contingent of 470 SDF troops and 10 officials to Goma on a U.N.-led humanitarian mission.

On Friday, Tamazawa flew to the Rwandan capital of Kigali from Nairobi for talks with leaders of the country's new government, including President Pasteur Bizimungu. During the talks, Tamazawa assured them that the SDF mission will be purely humanitarian and will not assist soldiers from the former Rwandan Army, officials accompanying him said. Rwanda's defense chief expressed concern over the possibility of a resurgence in the civil war caused by members of the defeated Rwandan Army now in exile around Goma, the officials said.

Bizimungu and other Rwandan leaders told Tamazawa they welcome the presence of the SDF contingent. Bizimungu also told Tamazawa Rwanda supports Japan's bid to gain a permanent seat on the UN Security Council, the officials said. Tamazawa told the Rwandan leaders that Japan hopes to contribute to the world body in the form of peacekeeping operations and humanitarian assistance.

The Canadian head of UN peacekeeping operations in Rwanda, however, has warned Tamazawa that stationing SDF personnel in the region could be fraught with danger. He cited the presence of soldiers from the former Rwandan Army and poor discipline among Zairian soldiers maintaining security in Goma.

Tamazawa arrived in Nairobi on Thursday with the 23-member advance team from the GSDF that is now working in Goma. The team, armed with five rifles and 18 pistols, will also gather information about security in the region and be involved in coordinating operations with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and nongovernmental organizations.

On Monday, Tamazawa will fly to Maputo, capital of Mozambique, to see U.N.-led peacekeeping operations

there in which the SDF is also involved. He is scheduled to return home Wednesday.

Government Considers Amnesty for Militiamen

AB2309110594 Paris AFP in English 1040 GMT 23 Sep 94

[By Serge Arnold]

[Text] Kigali, Sept 23 (AFP)—Rwanda's Government is considering an amnesty, or re-education without trial, for Hutu extremist militias who were "used" by those who masterminded three months of genocide, the government spokesman said Friday [23 September].

Major Wilson Rutayisire said the measure would depend on the international community rapidly organising trials for war-criminals.

Up to a million people were killed in Rwanda in the ethnic bloodbath unleashed by the death of President Juvenal Habyarimana in a suspect plane crash on 6 April. Most of the victims were from the central African nation's minority Tutsis.

"The trial of those responsible for the genocide is long overdue. Some have been in prison for more than two months and very soon we shall be condemned for detaining them without trial," Rutayisire said.

He added that the "hard core" of Interahamwe [pro-Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development militiamen] responsible for the massacres was thought by the government to consist of some 2,000 people who should face trial as would the political and military officials responsible for the massacres.

Soldiers of the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPFy), which seized Kigali in July and installed the new government, on Thursday arrested a mechanic working for the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR), whom they accused of "atrocities."

UNAMIR spokesman Pierre Mehu said the man was arrested at the mission's headquarters in the Amahoro Hotel, where he had been working for two months. UNAMIR chief General Guy Tousignant considered that the arrest was "made in a proper manner," Mehu added.

Rutayisire said the government was preparing "a grand offensive" against the Hutu extremists in the southeast of Rwanda where, he claimed, they were still committing "atrocities."

The army "will kill the criminals" it finds, he said.

Rutayisire said about 200 of those considered responsible for the massacres were being detained by the RPF.

He warned the international community that if "we see those responsible going freely we shall think we are betrayed.

"If these people are not brought to trial we will not achieve the reconciliation which implies that justice has been done."

He said the government just "wants them tried" and was "not bothered where and under which law." The trial could be held at the International Court at The Hague in the Netherlands.

Meanwhile, UNAMIR said it would deploy a company of about 100 Canadians and Australians on Saturday in the southeast where it so far had deployed only military observers. A Tunisian battalion due to arrive in 10 days in Rwanda will also be deployed in that region.

Mehu said the decision was taken after reports were recieved of a "deterioration of the situation" in the region and "allegations of revenge reprisals" together with "reports of atrocities."

But he said "nobody knows who" is responsible.

Rutayisire blamed the Interahamwe, who sought refuge in Tanzania, Burundi and Zaire, claiming they are crossing the border to "pillage," "kill," and commit "atrocities."

He said the government suspected "a campaign of former government officials to make the people stay behind" in the refugee camps in Zaire, Burundi and Tanzania.

Anounces Offensive Against Militiamen

LD2309132194 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Excerpt] The spokesman of the Rwandan Government has announced that a major offensive will soon be launched against the Hutu extremist militiamen in the southeast of the country. The Rwandan Patriotic Army will kill the criminals, said Wilson Rutayisiri, accusing the Interahamwe [Hutu militiamen] of continuing to carry out atrocities. [passage omitted]

Court Set Up To Try Soldiers 'Caught in the Act' EA2309204794 Kigali Radio Rwanda in French 1800 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Excerpts] A cabinet meeting was held today under the chairmanship of the prime minister, H.E. Faustin Twagiramungu, flanked by vice prime minister and minister of civil service, Colonel Alexis Kanyarengwe. [passage omitted] Among the measures agreed, investigations are to be held to identify and punish those who are at the origin of the state of insecurity. The meeting also

stressed the necessity of setting up prefectural and communal administration structures. It was also agreed that a military court would be set up to try army elements caught in the act [as heard]. Other details of the meeting will be given to you in upcoming news bulletins.

Government Forces Killing Returnees Denied

EA2509204194 Kigali Radio Rwanda in English 1830 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Text] The UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] representative in Rwanda has denied the existence of a report that the Rwandan Government forces are killing refugees who are returning home. According to the press release from the president's office, the conduct of the UNHCR in Rwanda is causing a lot of concern. After baseless announcements by UNHCR workers in August that there are human bodies floating on River Kagera, recently the UNHCR in Rwanda has again expressed its bias by falsely accusing the Rwandan National Army of killing refugees who are returning home.

This recent report by UNHCR was the subject of discussion when His Excellency The president of the Republic of Rwanda, Mr. Pasteur Bizimungu, today met the UNHCR representative in Rwanda with the UNAMIR [UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda] force commander. President Bizimungu told the two UN officials that he was surprised that one of the UN agencies could conduct the so-called investigations on Rwandan soil without informing the Government of Rwanda and, more surprising, is that after carrying out the investigations, the UN agency never informed and gave a report to the Rwandan Government but, instead, rushed to give the report to the media.

The so-called report by the UNHCR on harassment of refugees by the Rwandan Government Forces was announced over international radios this week, quoting a confidential report by the UNHCR, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

The UNHCR representative in Rwanda said that no investigations have been carried out, that he only invited three people to assess whether conditions for the return of refugees are satisfactory so that repatriation can begin. The representative told President Bizimungu that no report of the findings was written, that the issues were only discussed verbally. The UNHCR representative said that he cannot understand how a verbal discussion of repatriation conditions can constitute a report on harassment of returnees by Rwandan Government soldiers.

Buthelezi, Prince Zulu Argue in SABC Studio

MB2509202894

[Editorial Report] Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English at 1855 GMT on 25 September shows an altercation between the Inkatha Freedom Party, IFP, leader and home affairs minister, Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and a spokesperson for the interim committee in the Zulu Royal House, Prince Sifiso Zulu, in SABC's Durban studio during a live interview with Prince Zulu. The interview is chaired by announcer Freek Robinson in the Johannesburg studio.

Shouting is heard in the Durban studio as the announcer tries to determine what is happening. The announcer says: "Can we hear what is going on in the ... Can we get the sound from the studio in Durban." Camera shots show technicians moving around the Durban studio while the announcer tries to determine what is happening. The announcer says: "Can we please ask Prince Sifiso to sit down."

The camera then shows a closeup of a handgun held by an unidentified man moving quickly away from the argument. At this point, the camera does not have clear shots of the actual situation and only the announcer's voice is heard. Several voices are heard arguing in Zulu, including that of Buthelezi. Buthelezi is seen from the back wearing a printed ethnic shirt and holding a traditional Zulu stick. Three men in civilian clothes obscure a full view of Buthelezi arguing with Prince Zulu.

A closeup shows Buthelezi moving closer toward Prince Zulu, who is seated, pointing the stick at him and shouting in Zulu, with several men watching. Buthelezi's view is then blocked by men but loud arguing in Zulu is still heard. The camera turns away from the incident, focusing on a studio wall covered with pamphlets.

Live coverage resumes in the Johannesburg studio with IFP official Themba Khoza explaining developments, saying: "What happened is that when Dr. Buthelezi came to the same studio, Sifiso withdrew a gun." Khoza continues to briefly translate the argument in Zulu taking place in the Durban studio.

Buthelezi is finally seated in the Durban studio, preparing for an interview. Buthelezi says he was angered by comments made by Prince Zulu. The entire incident lasts approximately five minutes.

Buthelezi Explains Argument

MB2509210094 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1900 GMT 25 Sep 94

[Interview with the Inkatha Freedom Party leader and home affairs minister, Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in SABC's Durban studio, by announcer Freek Robinson, in the Johannesburg studio—live]

[Excerpt] [Robinson] I hear that Dr. Buthelezi is ready, and can you hear me Dr. Buthelezi?

[Buthelezi] Yes, good evening Mr. Robinson.

[Robinson] Dr. Buthelezi, first of all, apart from the fact that I am happy that you are joining us, can you tell us what happened there?

[Buthelezi] Where?

[Robinson] There in the studio where you are at the moment.

[Buthelezi] Well, what happened of course is that I was watching this television-what you call-and I said that if this person is a member of the royal family then he is my cousin, because first I was told that it was Prince Israel who was here, and when I got here it was not Prince Israel, because I just wanted to greet him, and the moment I, you know, I then after watching what I saw on television, I came in here hoping to see Prince Israel, only to find someone I have never seen in my life, so I asked him what he had been saying because the program was over by that time. I said: What are you saving about me? All the nonsense that he is saying that, you know, I appointed myself prime minister to the king. All the subjects of the king that responded to ... to my call to attend King Shaka's Day yesterday and today are responding because they don't know that the score is changed. I don't resist because I don't get a farthing for being prime minister. It is a duty for which I was born, which I have always performed loyally for the king. The king himself has always addressed letters to me, even after the election, to the prime minister. I can produce those envelopes and show them to you and other media.

[Robinson, interrupting] Dr. Buthelezi ...

[Buthelezi, continuing] Now for a youngster like this now to come out and say ... and say that, you know, that the moment I just asked that question to him, I said: Why do you say this? I was surprised to find that it was him and not my cousin, Prince Israel, and then the moment he tries to pull out something from his pocket, you know, although I mean I didn't approach him with any aggression at all.

[Robinson] Thank you Buthelezi for giving us that perspective. Unfortunately, Prince Sifiso is not there to tell us himself what happened. May I at the same time point out to you, with respect, that our program was still in progress when you walked into the studio. [passage omitted]

Buthelezi: No Place Anymore for Independent Zulu Kingdom

MB2409180394 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1600 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] Today's celebrations in KwaZulu/Natal proceeded peacefully despite fears of possible friction between the king's supporters and supporters of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and ANC. Thousands of Zulus attended the Shaka Day celebrations despite the fact that King Goodwill Zwelithini cancelled the celebrations

earlier this week. However, IFP leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed the view that there is no place in the new South Africa anymore for an independent Zulu kingdom.

[Begin recording] [SABC reporter Gary Alfonso] Busloads of Zulus streamed to Stanger in Northern Kwa-Zulu/Natal to commemorate Shaka Day at the Zulu legend's grave. It was clear that King Goodwill Zwelithini would not make his appearance when Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi arrived alone. Buthelezi told thousands of IFP supporters that his party was responsible for the king's position in the new South Africa.

[Buthelezi in English] [transmitted in progress] ... that our fight to secure the Zulu monarchy is in fact a fight for a democratic South Africa. It is not a fight for the IFP. I do not ride on the back of His Majesty the king of the Zulus, as the media says. Those who cannot see that the IFP is the power that it is—because the people want a constitutional monarchy and back the IFP because the IFP has established a constitutional monarchy in this country, that we have survived the dramatic changes that have taken place in South Africa—cannot see the forest for the trees.

[Alfonso] Buthelezi previously supported a call by the king for an independent Zulu kingdom, but today he rejected it. The members of the king's house with ANC ties did not attend the celebrations. [end recording]

King Goodwill today returned to the Nongoma palace, where he attended a prayer gathering. He reportedly spent the week in Sandton, north of Johannesburg, under Army protection because of fears for his safety.

Further on Buthelezi Address

MB2409193794 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Excerpts] The controversial Shaka Day celebrations proceeded without a hitch, and also without Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, in Stanger today. Earlier this week the king called off Shaka Day commemorations, saying the nation should hold a day of prayer instead, but the ceremony went ahead with Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] leader Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, apparently going back on his own preelection statements, about the sovereignty of the Zulu monarchy. He told the crowd there was now no place for an independent Zulu kingdom and the king would remain a nonpolitical, constitutional figurehead within South Africa's borders. Gary Alfonso reports:

[Begin recording] [Alfonso] [passage omitted] The IFP said the number attending today's gathering was greater than ever, but others who did not want to be identified said the turnout was low. Less than a year ago Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi supported the king's call for a separate and sovereign Zulu monarchy, but today in an apparent turnaround he said it wouldn't work.

[Buthelezi] I have always set my mind and heart against secessionist politics, and from early manhood onward I have known that the kingdom of KwaZulu would never survive on its own. There is no room now for a separate and independent Zulu kingdom because we as Zulus will never—and I repeat—never abandon what is ours by right in South Africa's central economy. In making these statements I am not blaming His Majesty for the IFP. Any political party that did what we did could have competed with the IFP to claim supremacy in the life of KwaZulu/Natal.

[Alfonso] Few will deny that most people at today's Shaka Day celebrations here in Stanger were IFP supporters but members of the royal house have voiced concern that the king has, through his actions and his decision not to attend the most sacred celebration here at Shaka's grave, sided with ANC members who also chose to stay away. Even royal faithfuls now believe a showdown could be on the horizon, although claims of a rift between Buthelezi and the king have been denied. [end recording]

[Begin recording] [unidentified SABC reporter] King Goodwill paid a surprise visit to a prayer meeting at the Enyokeni Palace near Nongoma. This was despite his earlier cancellation of traditional Shaka Day ceremonies and his flight from KwaZulu/Natal to a Sandton Hotel where he spent the past two days. He denied reports that he fled because of fears for his safety.

[King Goodwill Zwelithini] That was just nonsense because I don't know why must I ... why must I run away from my people? Which people should protect me other than the Zulus, because the Zulu people are my people? They are the people that—I am seeking protection from them.

[Reporter] The monarch said King Shaka symbolized unity as he had united various tribes to form one nation. It was therefore important, he said, that the nation be united when remembering his great founder. If this wasn't the case, Shaka Day should instead be turned into a day of prayer.

[Zwelithini] The Zulu nation has been lacking these things for too long. Political strife in this kingdom has taken the lives of more than 10,000 people. It is absolutely necessary for the Zulu nation to pray for peace. We have lived without peace for too long now.

[Reporter] King Goodwill also expressed the hope that by Shaka Day next year the Zulu nation would be peaceful, united, and proud of its cultural heritage, its king, and the Amakhosi [chiefs]. [end recording]

ANC Supports Zulu King's Call for Shaka Day Prayer

MB2309141894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1327 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Durban Sept 23 SAPA—The African National Congress in KwaZulu/Natal on Friday [23 September]

reiterated its support for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's call to his subjects to spend in prayer the time allocated by the provincial government for this weekend's Shaka Day celebrations.

Provincial leader Mr. Jacob Zuma told a Durban press conference that, given the potential for conflict, everyone irrespective of political affiliation should "pray for reconciliation and peace."

An ANC statement said: "It is clear that there is a great potential for violence when people march to attend Shaka Day celebrations, especially after his majesty King Zwelithini has officially cancelled these celebrations. We therefore call upon our people to, instead of attending these celebrations, in prayer reflect on the need to maintain peace and reconciliation."

The ANC called on security forces to protect lives, saying this was a test of whether they had "crossed the rubicon" and would defend people regardless of colour or creed.

The South African National Defence Force in the province on Thursday said it and the South African Police had a contingency plan for dealing with violence.

Also on Thursday, ANC MPL [member of the provincial legislature] and chairman of the legislature's multiparty security committee Mr. Bheki Cele said security forces had met Inkatha Freedom Party officials alone. He said this was suspicious, given the volatile situation.

On Friday security forces, political parties and peace monitors met at regional peace committee offices to plan security arrangements for the celebrations.

Two prayer meetings, one arranged by the ANC, were scheduled to begin on Friday in Durban and at the nearby Glebelands hostel. Observers believe Shaka Day celebrations at Stanger on the north coast are likely to be relatively peaceful, but trouble might break out at celebrations in the ANC stronghold of KwaMashu near Durban on Monday.

Army Confirms Responsibility for Zulu King's Safety

MB2309124994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1134 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Durban Sept 23 SAPA—The South African Army in KwaZulu/Natal on Friday confirmed it was responsible for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's protection but would not disclose details of the operation. Reacting to reports that there was no sign of troops at the king's palaces near Nongoma in northern KwaZulu/Natal on Thursday afternoon, South African National Defence Force spokesman Lt.-Col. Franz Verfuss said the army was protecting the king.

"We cannot disclose details on how and where the protection is being applied for reasons of security," he said.

Col. Verfuss also declined to say where the Zulu monarch was after reports that he and some members of his family had been flown by helicopter to Richards Bay. He said: "The king is not our prisoner and is free to determine his own movements."

A Johannesburg newspaper reported earlier that its representatives had visited three of the king's Nongoma palaces and had seen no sign of troops. The report said the king was seen boarding a helicopter which, a soldier said, was bound for Richards Bay.

The king's office could not be reached for comment.

Security around the king has been increased because of fears for his safety after one of his palaces was stoned by Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] supporters and because of Shaka Day celebrations which were called off by the monarch but reinstated by the IFP-led regional government.

Political Analyst Views ANC Government

MB2309200494 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans 16 Sep 94 p 10

[Report by Henk van de Graaf]

[Excerpts] After three months, a government can already be subjected to an assessment, says Professor Willem Kleynhans, political academic for the past 40 years. His conclusion is that the ANC's majority government in power for the last three months has failed to make a success of it.

Background

As a background, one must briefly look at the National Party [NP] government. The NP has in the past relentlessly stuck to racial separation until John Vorster, P.W. Botha, and F.W. de Klerk, to a lesser or greater extent, began deviating from the norm. Each of them initially tried to maintain some degree of separation.

De Klerk, however, suddenly opened up the sluice gates, abolished all discriminatory laws overnight, and never maintained a transition phase where people with expertise could be involved, or at least be trained in it. This is in fact the biggest problem with the government of the day: It is made up of people lacking in expertise.

The ANC's most skillful people are already being used elsewhere. They are in any case very limited. Those experts who have received training abroad are sitting in parliaments, while the ANC as a party is crumbling. That is why the unprecedented announcement was made by Mandela when he said he personally goes to Shell House each Monday to take charge of the party's organization. It is political absurdity that a president of a country should, once a week, be involved in his party's organization.

Policy

What makes judging the ANC all that more interesting is the fact that it has, in advance, enumerated the finer details of its government policy—all worked out to the finest detail. An example is the report on the controversial RDP [Reconstruction and Development Program] already worked out and planned in full in January, and distributed in writing. Reality has, however, placed a big question mark on this "thorough" planning. Prof. Kleynhans says: "All the schemes so far announced by the ANC's government leaders in their respective fields, and with which a start has been made for their implementation, leave a lot to be desired. All of them have shortcomings. Not a single one of the announced schemes impresses one in any way, and these shortcomings will prove disastrous for the country if they are not rectified."

Constitution

According to Prof. Kleynhans's analysis, most of these shortcomings can be traced back to their root, namely, the Constitution. The current interim constitution is riddled with serious basic defects.

The ANC and the NP entered horse trading [preceding two words in English] compromises without ever weighing their practical implications. Those practical implications became evident at their implementation, and could have been foreseen.

Many instances highlight these shortcomings. Prof. Kleynhans himself pointed them out to the government and the negotiators, but they refused to listen. Prof. Kleynhans had daily attended the negotiations at Kempton Park. Eventually he was stopped from attending any further as he, especially according to the National Party's mouthpiece, BEELD, was considered an intruder. Prof. Kleynhans says he "intruded" to warn them against the unworkabality of that which they wanted to implement. Meanwhile, he has been proved right.

The shortcomings had already been part of the NP's blue print of 1991, and it is that same cancer we are currently sitting with.

Representation

The biggest mistake is the issue of proportional representation, according to Prof. Kleynhans.

It has destroyed the effective system of party government. The old system of parties meant that a strong governing party had an effective opposition against it, and they could control each other. Hereafter thought will have to be given to the Westminster system.

The proportional representation as it is today in South Africa has verified the myth that a maximum number of people's views will always settle matters in parliament. Initially, 20 parties had registered after they sprang up like mushrooms out of the ground, and in the long run they had no support.

It had been decided at the negotiations that 5 percent support for any party would mean a seat. Two parties then went on to qualify, of which the ANC had such an overwhelming majority to an extent that it does what it feels like anyway.

Ultimately there is again only a two-party dispensation—the ANC and the anti-ANC, because the NP, IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] and the African National Christian Democratic Party—according to Prof. Kleynhans—ought to stand together. [passage omitted]

Mistakes of Government

Initially the ANC alleged that everything had been worked out thoroughly and in detail. Beautiful sounding expressions such as "peoples orientated society", "peoples centered government", "people will help to govern the country," [passages in quotes appear in English] and so on were the order of the day, but the political instrument for this is not there.

Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu is calling on people to provide input to a commission on school curriculums. It sounds well, but unrealistic. To make that a success and a reality people must be mobilized, and as an organized entity make a contribution. Here too the political instrument is the most ideal vehicle.

A quick glance at the schemes and actions introduced by the government immediately show clearly the big failure they are making of government:

—Mandela sudúenly announced that there would be free medical services for pregnant women and children from 1 June.

This resulted in a fiasco. Hospitals had not been consulted about this and, as a result, did not know about it. Suddenly the supplies were too little, staff not enough and unprepared, administrative readiness lacking, etc. In this way, the highest party official, a Nobel Prize winner, at that, introduced to his followers how a government should run.

—On one evening, Slovo said on television that he was going to build 2 million houses in five years and that work would start within three weeks. The houses would all have basic services, such as water, sewers, electricity, and telephones. He had already consulted building societies and banks about mortgage bonds for these projects. Responding to a question on the risk of this type of mortgage bond to holders, Slovo said the mortgage holders would be bound to meet their commitments but that the risks by banks and building societies would be guaranteed by the taxpayer's money in the Treasury. Experts rejected this at once.

Also regarding houses, Tokyo Sexwale—PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] premier—said he would build 150,000 houses in PWV. Slovo repudiated this. Out of the dust of the ensuing argument, one house was built.

Slovo had initially promised that his housing project would be completed over five years. He later changed it to 10 years, and he recently told businessmen that the project could not materialize in the next 20 years, and, moreover, the business sector had to give the project their full support.

Sexwale also saw that he would not fulfill his promise and then announced that the date when building would commence would be determined later.

The housing project is a fiasco.

—Stability is ensured by its highly professional civil service and is not affected by changing politicians. Examples can be taken from Italy, where the country is being governed by the 52d government since the war. The stability that prevails there is due to the stable civil service. The same applied to France before de Gaulle.

In South Africa, too, it is the civil service that can and must ensure stability. But the ANC prefers to put a stick in the hornet's nest by threatening careers and promotions in the civil service.

In this context, 17 directors general saw on one particular Sunday in the press that their posts were being advertised. At least they could reapply for their posts. Such a situation is utterly demoralizing.

The danger of affirmative action [preceding two words in English] preoccupies everyone in the civil service—from the highest to the lowest—with planning retirement packages or early pension. Right up to the top, management of the civil service has to be changed.

- —On 1 September, a large-scale feeding program was to have been initiated. Some schools did get food. At several others, the food was late or simply did not arrive. In most parts of the country, the scheme collapsed before it even started.
- —The state is reluctant to intervene in strikes, and this, along with the violence that emanates from the strikes, is considered as "their right." The government itself encourages them by saying that employers refuse to pay fair wages because some of them are still living in the days of apartheid and its capitalism.
- —The provinces are complaining that they do not as yet have powers, after they had been promised maximum devolution of power to them. The government is now saying that it will transfer power gradually, as the provinces show that they can handle it. The provinces and the government are now in conflict.

The government's action is, in this case—like in many others—unconstitutional. However, no one can take the government to jail, as the promised constitutional court has not come off the ground.

Opposition

The ANC continues to do as it wishes. There is no effective watchdog over it.

The NP is its co-governor. De Klerk initially said the NP's role would be not something to which one should prescribe. But after three months, the NP's role is clear: It means nothing. During a crisis, De Klerk spends a five-week holiday abroad, and during that time the ANC made all its farcical announcements. The press even later complained that De Klerk was invisible.

The IFP's [Inkatha Freedom Party] role is also zero, while the Freedom Front makes no contribution, according to Prof. Kleynhans. The most effective opposition comes from the Democratic Party, especially from Tony Leon.

Opposition within parliament has degenerated to nothing because it has subscribed to the government of "national unity." The press has now taken over the role of opposition—to expose mistakes on the voters' behalf.

Even NP newspapers, which applauded everything as "breakthroughs" and "miracles" in advance, are now shouting with the others about de Klerk's lack of punch.

Ironically enough, NP newspapers are reveling in gossip, which focuses on the embarrassments of the ANC, while they shift NP embarrassments into the past.

The ANC has shown itself to be sensitive about the new role of the press, and Mandela himself wants to bring about a good relationship between the government and the press.

The blacks are complaining about the fat cats, and, regarding this, the NP media cannot say much because De Klerk is himself part of these "fat cats."

The ANC now engages itself in trivialities, such as changing names, instead of governing the country properly.

In parliament, there is no work for 400 members and 90 senators. Roelf Meyer now wants to try and join the members of parliament geographically, while the constituencies and members of Parliament don't even know each other. Funds will be allocated for this, but Prof. Kleynhans warns that it will only be spent by a few, opening the door for corruption.

Whites and Right Wingers

Prof. Kleynhans is of the opinion that the extraparliamentary role of the Conservative Party, the Reformed National Party, and the Afrikaner Resistance Movement, and possibly several others, are also ineffective. Statements by spokesmen are not given attention by the press, as if they represent no one.

Placing the ANC's first three years of government under the microscope definitely reveals a dark future.

It is exacerbated by the division within right-wing ranks, which makes them impotent to act.

Actions are essential to mobilize every possible white so as to keep the country's administration on course and

preventing the country from a major crisis, says Prof. Kleynhans. The whites must stand together because they represent the brain power in business and the economy. Even though they are few in numbers, they remain a major force. Disillusioned whites belonging to other language groups must also be roped in.

Even among blacks, there are those who are disillusioned, as is apparent in letters to the media and phonein programs, such as on Radio 702. They, too, will have to be mobilized.

COSATU, ANC Oppose Policy on Illegal Immigration

MB2409183994 Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English 23-29 Sep 94 p 33

[Report by Drew Forrest]

[Text] Resistance to hardline Home Affairs Ministry policy on illegal immigration is crystallising in both the ANC and its trade union ally, the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU].

This week COSATU's Neil Coleman hit out at "the narrow chauvinism" of Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and called for the ANC to take a clear stand. "Immigration technically falls under Buthelezi, and the ANC is clearly afraid to tread on his toes. But it is a national political issue which affects economic reconstruction, labour and foreign affairs. There needs to be a much broader consensus."

Coleman accused Buthelezi of a self-defeating approach which would make South Africa "an island of prosperity in a sea of want."

And warning against "xenophobia" and "populism," ANC backbencher Rob Davies suggested that the current government line flowed from "the fact that the minister is of a different party." He said there was wide agreement among ANC colleagues that one-sided control measures were not the answer.

According to Davies, the report of the interdepartmental task group on immigration set up by Home Affairs reflects a more holistic approach. The report is still under wraps.

In parliament and on TV, Buthelezi has laid heavy emphasis on tighter restrictions, stressing that "charity begins at home" and that rampant immigration could torpedo the reconstruction and development programme. Last week the Inkatha Youth Brigade threatened that if the government failed to take tough action against illegal aliens, it would do so.

COSATU and ANC concerns coincide with a rising tide of intolerance, particularly among black workers and traders who believed, Davies said, "their problems will dramatically improve if we get rid of illegals." Hawkers recently marched on the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] legislature to demand a crackdown.

"The name of the game is to identify these people to the authorities. There is a real danger of witch-hunts," Davies added.

Police estimates that South Africa had eight million illegals—two-thirds of the economically active population, according to Development Bank figures—seem to reflect rising hysteria on the issue Buthelezi has lent weight to popular stereotypes by suggesting that all Nigerian immigrants are criminals and drug traffickers.

Both Coleman and Davies—an economist who spent 11 years in exile in Mozambique, the source of between 60 and 80 percent of illegals—stressed regional dimensions of the problem. What was once a war refugee influx had become "fun-scale economic migrancy," in part due to apartheid economic sabotage. A distinction had to be drawn between entrants from the region and those coming from further afield, Davies said.

"But it's not just about our historic responsibilities—it's about enlightened self-interest," he added. "Consider the consequences of dumping all Mozambicans in a rapid exercise. Mozambique is already calling for an additional \$14-million in United Nations food aid. We would heighten economic instability and pressures to migrate."

And although controls had to remain in place, it was inconceivable that the flood of illegals could be stemmed by "more border patrols and more immigration officers. Unless we promote growth and development throughout the region—this is in fact integral to the RDP [Reconstruction Development Programme]—the effects of human insecurity in neighbouring states will be felt here."

Davies attacked what he termed "the bag-of-money mindset": the idea that South Africa had finite resources which it could spend either at home or abroad. The aim was freer trade and heightened economic co-operation, not aid, and South Africa stood to gain from this.

Added Coleman: "The failure of the pass laws is an object lesson: You cannot legislate the movement of economically desperate people. You just drive the problem underground."

Immigration was at issue for the first time at last week's COSATU congress, where a resolution—not debated for lack of time—reflects tensions between an increasingly restive rank and file and more moderate leadership.

Complaining of the super-exploitation of illegal aliens and the undermining of organised labour, the resolution calls for proper entry controls, heavy penalties for employers of illegals and statutory parity in pay and work conditions. Farming, hotels, the domestic sector, construction and cleaning and security are known to be the prime users of illegal labour.

But it also demands a regional focus for the RDP, education and training for aliens and state action to integrate them into communities.

Most controversially, it calls for the position of existing illegal migrants to be regularised either by amnesty and legislation, or repatriation on request. This would be a once-off measure, to involving a cut-off date.

The model, Davies said, was post-independence Zimbabwe, where long-established groups of Malawian migrant workers had been naturalised. "We have to deal with people who have struck root here, to remove some of the uncertainties and their vulberability to populist pressures."

Saying there was still a need to detect and process illegals, Davies stressed they were owed full protection under the constitution and that controls should meet international norms. He said Buthelezi had reacted "dismissively" to a question he had put in parliament about treatment of aliens under the Aliens Control Act.

This meant access to lawyers, employers and families, as well as the right to information on legal procedures. Davies was also "bitterly opposed" to lethal power levels in electrified border fences.

Reserve Bank Raises Bank Rate From 12 to 13 Percent

MB2309194694 Johannesburg SABC CCV Television Network in English 1900 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] The Reserve Bank has announced an increase in the bank rate by 1 percent, from 12 percent to 13 percent. The new rate will come into effect on Monday. The Reserve Bank said in a statement all other interest rates of the Reserve Bank will also be raised by 1 percentage point from the present levels.

South African Press Review for 23 Sep

MB2309133294

[Editorial Report]

THE STAR

RDP White Paper Reduces Government Involvement in Economy-In the draft white paper on the Reconstruction and Development Program, RDP, it "looks very much as though the Government has opened the gate for privatisation," declares a page 14 editorial in Johannes-burg THE STAR in English on 23 September. "The financing of the RDP is taking on increasingly difficult dimensions. Adding to the limited resources available by privatising what can be privatised is a painless step towards balancing the Budget." THE STAR also notes a "subtle" difference between the white paper and the preelection RDP document in the form of "a shift in emphasis towards a formula that has characterised the world's successful economies: namely, curtailing government's role in the economy and, by implication, greater freedom for the private sector to get on with the job of creating wealth for the nation."

BUSINESS DAY

Fewer Teaching Hospitals—"In a country where poverty exposes millions to serious disease and other health risks every day, it is anomalous that almost a third of the health budget is spent on high-tech teaching hospitals," begins a page 10 editorial in Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 23 September. Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma has announced that two or three academic hospitals will have to close. This move is "not as absurd as it might look" since "it was inevitable that all-important primary health care and preventive strategies would have to be funded from cuts elsewhere. Fewer academic institutions, resulting in better funding priorities and improved basic health care standards, is one persuasive argument in defence of the move."

SOWETAN

People Participation in RDP—"Already apparent in Government is an earnestness and vigour and a recognition that the RDP can only be implemented within the parameters of a growing economy and fiscal discipline," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 23 September. The government has invited public comment on the white paper, "an important first step in giving ordinary people ownership of the RDP. The ownership is crucial to the ultimate implementation of the RDP which can only be effected by the direct participation of people at a local and community level."

WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN

Illegal Immigrants-The page 32 editorial in Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English for 23-29 September comments on the "real problem" of illegal immigrants and refugees in the country, saying: "The threat is exaggerated, with some putting the number of aliens as high as 8-million, a ludicrous figure with no evidence to back it up. The response is taking on an increasingly racial and nationalistic tinge as some political groupings try and whip up xenophobia, presumably to set the ground for a ruthless clampdown." The editorial believes the long-term solution has to be a "regional one." If the country wants to stop economic refugees pouring in from neighboring countries, South Africa has to "seek ways to encourage those countries to achieve the stability and growth that will keep their citizens at home. An insular, nationalist policy will not achieve this. Now will denying the reality of immigrants who are here, in our cities, and are not going to disappear.'

NEW NATION

Zulu King's 'Moment of Truth'—"After lashing out at any criticism of the King during the pre-election phase as an insult to Zulu royalty, Inkatha leaders this week hurled all sorts of abuses at the monarch by questioning his authority," notes Johannesburg NEW NATION in English on 23 September in its page 8 editorial. "All of this for no more than undisguised political expediency.

But the public humiliation of the King has forced upon him the moment of truth. He will have to make a choice to prove that he is, after all, capable of rising above politics and embracing neutrality." "He has not exactly been strong on decisive leadership and independence. In fact, his affinity for vacillation is well known. He has many times before signalled his intention to break with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, but almost always sunk back into submission. Whether he finally breaks with Buthelezi now, however, remains to be seen."

South African Press Review for 24-25 Sep

MB2509153494

[Editorial Report]

WEEKEND STAR

Culture of 'Non-Payment' Harmful—It's easier to satisfy or placate voters than to ensure "administrative viability" says the Johannesburg WEEKEND STAR in English editorial of 24-25 September on page 10, commenting on the housing member of the Executive Council for Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging—Dan Mofokeng—announcing that all housing arrears would be written off. "The culture of non-payment, which started in the

1980's as part of the struggle against apartheid, is now becoming an uncontrollable epidemic. We suspect it is being fanned by a certain amount of political expediency." Scrapping the arrears would be harmful: "Resources are scarce and there would be less money available. The poor would ultimately have to foot the bill, or rather pay the price."

SUNDAY TIMES

Public Unwilling To Contribute—Last week's BB credit rating for South Africa reflected concerns over "the ability of the new government to meet the soaring public expectations of improved living standards even though the country's budget deficit is already too high," says the Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English editorial on 25 September on page 20. The credit rating coincided with the government's release of the White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Program. "This document, full of vaunting phrases and grand visions, is nevertheless a thoughtful tradeoff between desired social outcomes and fiscal constraints. It promises a better lifestyle, but not without some pain and a considerable contribution from the individual and the community. There is, however, little sign of this willingness in the public at large to make that contribution."

Lesotho

33-Million-Maluti Agreement Signed With EU

MB2509145894 Maseru Radio Lesotho in English 1600 GMT 24 Sep 94

[Text] The minister of finance and planning, Dr. Moeketsi Senaoana, says an agreement signed yesterday [23 September] between the Lesotho Government and the European Union, was an attempt to reduce negative impacts effected by the Second Adjustment Program, SAP, on social sectors of the country.

The minister said the grant totalling 33 million maluti was meant for, particularly, in respect to adverse impact, in the context to stabilize health, education and water supply sectors [sentence as heard]. Meanwhile, the union's acting head of delegation in the country, Mr. J. Broadhurst, congratulated the government for the important undertaking and wished good luck on implementation of the project. The Second Structural Adjustment Program, SASP II [as heard], is being implemented in collaboration with the International Monetary Fund, IMF, the World Bank, and the European Union during fiscal year 1994-95. SASP II will ensure that Lesotho's long-term development objectives are not sacrificed to the short-term emergencies of stabilization, by providing funding for the three social sectors. The program will also assist the government in assessing its ability to develop development policies and programs and to monitor their implementation.

The union started supporting Lesotho through the first SASP in 1993-94 fiscal year, where the allocation totalled 32 million maluti.

Mozambique

UN Police Invade Presidential Guard Headquarters

MB2609110994 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 26 Sep 94

[Text] UN Mozambique Civilian Police Command [Civpol] men have invaded the Military Household headquarters in Maputo, which houses the presidential guard in the Mozambican capital, using the pretext that it was for routine verification purposes.

Teodato Hunguana, government representative in the Supervision and Control Commission, CSC, said the Civpol men entered the Military Household Logistics Storehouse, at Choupal Ward, with permission to use and break down the doors. Teodato Hunguana also disclosed that the Civpol men also had tried to break into the Military Household headquarters and Magoanine Barracks.

The government already has presented a protest to UN Special Representative Aldo Ajello.

Benin

Army To Participate in UN Multinational Force in Haiti

AB2409173994 Cotonou Office de Radiodiffusion-Television du Benin Radio in French 1930 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Benin has decided to join the multinational force charged with maintaining order and restoring democracy and social peace in Haiti. The government has just announced this decision in a Foreign Affairs and Cooperation Ministry statement. According to the statement, our participation is to show solidarity with the people of Haiti who are linked to the Beninese people by secular ties of friendship and brotherhood. It is also to respond favorably to the UN appeal for troops. It will certainly be pleased.

The Beninese are, therefore, going to Port-au-Prince. The statement, however, does not indicate the level at which Benin will be represented, whether at the level of military operations, doctors, military contingent or police force. The statement is mute in this regard.

The Beninise Government is pleased with the political success of former President Jimmy Carter's mission to ensure the peaceful restoration of democracy in Haiti.

Nigeria

Civil Rights Leader Ransome-Kuti Released on Bail

AB2209212694 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 22 Sep 94

[Report by Sola Odunfa from Lagos; from the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] In Lagos, the chairman of a civil rights group, Campaign for Democracy, Dr. Beko Ransome-Kuti, has been released on bail after pleading not guilty to a two-count charge of writing letters of threat to the chief executives of two oil-producing companies in Nigeria—Shell and AGIP—during the last petroleum workers strike.

The chief magistrate court overruled police objections that he might repeat the alleged offense and that his alleged action bordered on economic sabotage.

Dr. Ransome-Kuti was arrested at his residence early last week and detained until he was taken to court yesterday. At least four other prominent pro-democracy activists are still in detention without trial. They are Chief Anthouy Enahoro, Cornelius Adebayo, Ademola Adeniji-Adele, and the secretary of the petroleum workers union, Chief Frank Kokori.

Further on Release

AB2309085294 Paris AFP in English 2359 GMT 22 Sep 94

[Text] Lagos, Sept 23 (AFP)—Human rights activist Beko Ransome-Kuti told AFP Thursday [22 September] he had been freed on bail after eight days in custody on charges of trying to get two foreign companies to back an oil strike in support of would-be president Moshood Abiola.

Ransome-Kuti said he had been brought from police cells to Igbosere magistrates' court Wednesday, where the prosecution had alleged he wrote to the chief executives of the Shell Petroleum Development Company and the Nigerian Agip Oil Company "to compel them and their staff to abstain from work during the strike period," according to the NEWS AGENCY OF NIGERIA (NAN).

The strike fizzled out after eight weeks, having failed in its aim of getting military ruler General Sani Abacha to end treason proceedings against Abiola, who was arrested in June for proclaiming himself president, a year after the military cancelled presidential polls he is thought to have won.

Ransome-Kuti said he had pleaded not guilty, and was bailed to appear again on 14 October.

Security men on 14 September took him to the offices of the Campaign for Democracy (CD), the human rights umbrella grouping he chairs, searched the place, seized some documents, and took him away, a source at the CD said.

Government Withdraws Dissident Soyinka's Passport

AB2309090894 Paris AFP in English 0849 GMT 23 Sep 94

[Text] Lagos, Sept 23 (AFP)—Nigerian authorities have withdrawn the passport of Nobel literature laureate Wole Soyinka, a leading critic of the military junta, and prevented him from leaving the country, his secretary said Friday [23 September].

Soyinka, who had been due to fly to Europe, contacted his secretary, M. Sowole, to inform him of the development on Friday morning, Sowole told AFP from Abeokuta, the capital of the southwestern Ogun State.

The poet and playwright has filed a suit challenging the legitimacy of the regime of General Sani Abacha and called on the Nigerian federal high court to declare it illegal.

The hearing began in Lagos on Wednesday and continued Thursday in Soyinka's presence, before it was adjourned until next Tuesday.

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